1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
[821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
539 he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree
[763] struck by lightning. The apparition was this to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called mɛtsuŋ'ɛ'. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a mɛtsuŋ'ɛ' pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'ena) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

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824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

[224]

[262]

23

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

[262]

[224]

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

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821

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

825

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

[P.371, A]

his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quarts toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2568)

There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

[P. 371, B]

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
[648] Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
[231] Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[437] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (233-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died, following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

While I was in Dresslerville an Indian, of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

After the Washo return home from a funeral, they immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To prevent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (icombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

668*
533*
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[993]

creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

[821]
[178]

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

[177]

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

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533*

It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 fear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
● [82] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead per-
[551] son's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegiléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyɬ̌u, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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● 821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next
[431] onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwi·ya, melehéhe? and [ɛtwé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTRO
Achomawi NSB

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ka	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Nd	Ti	AS
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Whole bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a.3 or 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693b.5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2695. Wasselskin necklace	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a.4 or 6	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2709a.Several nights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710a.Several days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*2711. Crazy Dance (toesaagwa)	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2711b.Special singers	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2712a.2 sticks	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
*2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2713a.Men dressed as women	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sidestep	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nagwa)	•	•	*•	-	-	-	•	-	*•	-	-	-	*•	•
2716. Circle dance	•	•	-	-	-	-	*•	-	•	-	-	-	-	•
2717. Dances at center post	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2719a.5 nights	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2719b.Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*•	*•	*•	*•	*•	•
2721. 12 month names	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2721a.4 season names	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2723. Dust road (Kusipe)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	*•	-
2726a.Menstruating women cover selves	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-

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Achomawi N55

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXCERPTS

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Bo	Tg	Wd	El	AP
Whirlwind (pitomawa)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2732. You will carry a deer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2733a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2738. Crow call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2739. Dove call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2740. Meadowlark call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
2741a. Finger rots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2743. Gopher	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2745. Informants had only heard of them	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2748. "Devil"	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

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